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flower of the *tartan* tree. As he baited his hook and dropped the line into the hole he made this chant: "Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, ta te matau, e matau lave" [Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, (we) prepare the hook, the fast-gripping hook]. The *tuna* took the bait and was soon fast fixed to the hook. The man hauled the fish from the hole, and when he was about to club it to death the fish spoke, saying, "Hear my words before you kill me. When I am dead, cut off my head. Let your wife eat my body, but my head you must plant in the ground in front of your house." The man listened well to the words of the *tuna*. Then he killed the fish, cut off its head, and planted it in front of his house. The body he wrapped in leaves, cooked in the oven, and took to his wife. She saw the eel and said, "Here you are at last with just the kind of fish I have been longing for." With these words she ate the fish and was satisfied.

After a time the head grew up into a tree which later bore nuts, one nut on the topmost stem, two nuts on the second stem, three nuts on the third stem, and so on up to ten nuts on the tenth stem. Then later it had twenty stems and on the twentieth were twenty nuts. Finally the tree bore a heavy crop of nuts. As the earliest nuts ripened and became hard, they dropped from the tree to the ground. Mauieuli collected all the nuts. Then he had the idea of giving nuts to all the islands in the Pacific. He divided the nuts into two parts; one part for the islands of the western Pacific, the other part for the islands of the eastern Pacific. Then he took one nut at a time from the western pile and threw it into the air. As he threw he called out the name of an island and there the nut landed. When the western pile was finished he started on the eastern pile, throwing a nut into the air as before for each island in the eastern Pacific. In this way all the islands of the Pacific received the coconut. After he had used all the nuts from the tree, he thought, "In this division I have forgotten all about Pukapuka, which is neither east nor west. Te Ulu-o-te-watu has received no nuts from this division." He looked around on the ground and found one very small, dry nut. He held up this nut and said, "This shall be the nut for Pukapuka." Thus in the end all the islands shared in the nuts from the tree that grew from the head of the *tuna* fished by Mauieuli.

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After telling this story, informants added that the first nut was planted in the reserve of Uta. It is a characteristic Pukapukan touch to say that Pukapuka received only a wizened nut after almost being left out of the division altogether. In the story of Lata, when Lata divided the huge *Tridacna* shellfish (*paysua*), he forgot Pukapuka in the division and was able to give the island only the rock to which the *paysua* was growing. Similarly Pukapuka was the last Polynesian island to receive Christianity and among the last islands to receive a visit from anthropologists!

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Coconut trees are empirically divided into 17 classes in terms of the bearing qualities of the tree and the shape or quality of the husk:

Niu lakiu: produces nuts that are small but abundant; it sometimes ceases bearing for a long time but usually bears again after this pause.
Niu wata: bears well and continuously but not abundantly.
Niu tuuti: does not bear well and is not often planted.
Niu loalia: bears well but the nuts show a tendency to fall from the tree before they are mature.
Niu wuakole: a non-bearing tree with male flowers.
Niu malie: bears well and has good eating nuts.
Niu mangalo: bears the sweet eating coconut with edible husk.
Niu lalilili: bears very small nuts.
Niu lamumu: very large nuts.
Niu kawa loloa: nuts with long husks.

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Many other moral judgments, personal insults, and condemned peculiarities are to be found in the folk tales and stories, a study of which throws much light on the specific cultural patterning of preferred conduct in Pukapuka.

DREAMS

Pukapukan theory of the causation of dreams (*miti*) links with the psychology of the soul (p. 325). The soul is conceived of as a mobile unit that leaves the body at night during sleep and wanders freely about the world in search of adventures. It is these experiences of the soul that constitute the tissue of dream-life. There is no confusion between dream reality and the reality of waking life, though the dream experience is significant of supernormal life and helps to reenforce a set of related concepts which sum up for the Pukapukan his knowledge of the supernormal world.

Dreams are valuable circumstantial evidence to the Pukapukan for the existence of the Underworld (Po). Though it is rarely given to the layman to visit the Underworld in dreams, it was common experience for the priest, and his related experiences carried with them the conviction of certitude. At times the priest might reenforce his story by displaying trophies gained by him during his visits to the Underworld, as Levi, for instance, displayed the foods that he obtained there, or the gong beaters that he took from the hand of Tulikalo (p. 330). But these materialistic evidences were not necessary for his story to gain full credence. It is related that laymen acquired, through dream visits of their souls to the Underworld, special techniques in craft activities, such as the making of fine plaited upper-body garments, which could not be learned by ordinary knowledge of a craft or by prolonged practice at its principles. Because a soul can no longer visit the Underworld of old-time Pukapuka, the making of certain garments is a lost art today.

Some dreams, especially nightmares and dreams of suffocation, are caused by the activities of free-wandering spirits and malicious familiars (*aitu*) which come to a person in sleep, grapple with his soul, and strangle it. It is the terror of this embrace that produces for the Pukapukan the peculiar horror of the nightmare. Other spirits have been known to come to a woman in sleep and have intercourse with her. Against these spirits there is no defense.

The only type of pleasant dream experience is a dream sign of the conception of a child (*miti tuakatiti tangata*), which generally relates to the experience of the soul with pretty flowers, trees heavily laden with fruits or coconuts, or flourishing taro beds. Dreams of falling from trees or hills down to a lower level are bad, and ill-fortune will come to the dreamer or to a close relative of his. To dream of one who is dead is a sign that someone related to the dreamer will soon die, the implication being that the dreamer's soul has already seen in the Underworld one who will soon die. There is no way of mitigating the effects of a bad dream. One may tell the dream to

fish scattering through the sea. When Malo was killed, a paddle was flashed in his canoe as a sign to the people crowded on the beach that misfortune had overtaken the canoes. The people then came out to the reef, and when the canoes had maneuvered through the landing channel, death chants were started and the body carried ashore.

The dog was looked on as a strange animal and created much interest. It was called *kiole* (rat) or *tupua* (animal) and became a sort of prestige symbol for Muliwutu lineage. It was taken to the principal god house and sacred enclosure of the lineage, given the best food that the island produced, and ornamented with leaves and flowers. The people of the lineage were never tired of boasting of their prowess and bravery in stealing this animal from the white man's boat. The dog was honored thus until it died of old age. Other lineages later tried to get strange objects as prestige symbols, but none were so sensationally successful as this Muliwutu "rat".

VOYAGING

The following summary accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka are given for the light they throw on Pukapukan social customs and on early contact with other islands of the Pacific. It is inevitable perhaps that many of the places and islands named in these accounts can not be positively identified. Some of the lands visited, such as Witi (Fiji), Tonga, Niue, Yamoa (Samoa), Niutao, the Tokelau Islands, probably are the islands that have these names today, but other islands, such as Yayake, Yiva, Yake, must remain covered with the mists of obscurity. The accounts of these voyages establish the fact that the Pukapukans in the heyday of their navigation must have been as fearless sea rovers as their Polynesian cousins of other islands. The knowledge of astronomy that remains today shows that some of the remembered star courses were exceedingly accurate, and, given courage and reasonable good luck, there was every likelihood that Pukapukan sailors could and did reach distant islands.

The reasons for undertaking these sea voyages were: a desire for adventure, desire to visit the lands and peoples that traditions told them lay below the horizon in all directions; desire to bring back to Pukapuka useful stones that could better be used for implements than the soft coral rocks and shells of the native environment; desire to advance the prestige of one paternal lineage as against the others. Further, some voyages were made through necessity: through shame at some unpleasant experience, or through the virtual exile that awaited any Pukapukan man whose powers, whether physical or supernormal, made it seem to the populace that he might someday be led to use these powers to advance his own private, selfish, and antisocial interests against the interests of the group as a whole.

I think there is no reason to discredit the validity of these voyages simply because incidents that smack to us of the supernormal or the impossible, have crept into the accounts. Doubtless returning voyagers made the most of their exploits, and tall stories have found credence with the stay-at-homes in every age. But such stories are always woven into the context of actual fact. It is probably impossible today to separate imaginary adventures from

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Another voyage occurring about this time was that of a man named Palakula and members of his family who sailed away from Pukapuka. Palakula had killed the son of the chief Tuliayanga in a brawl provoked by cruelties of the chief's son to Palakula's children. He chose banishment rather than local punishment. Nothing more was heard of Palakula after he left Pukapuka. It is presumed that he and his crew were all drowned at sea.

Two later voyages were voyages of necessity, not choice. They were made in conformity with the Pukapukan custom that all men of supernormal powers should leave the island forever lest their continued presence on the atoll lead to their acquiring abnormal power over the people of the island.

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Tuliayanga had three grandsons, all sons of his daughter, Kaipa. Their names were Nikau, Aliki, and Kieilu. Of Nikau, the oldest, no record is preserved, though it is known that he left Pukapuka. Aliki, the second son, early showed signs of precocious supernormal powers, so under the guise of a competition it was decided to test him. A group of men, all armed with sticks, the ends of which had been dipped in charcoal and water, surrounded Aliki and pretended to attack him. Aliki, also armed with a stick, defended himself against their blows; when the contest stopped, it was found that there was no trace of a black mark on his body. Then it was the turn of Aliki to dip his stick in charcoal. Again the men attacked him; when the contest paused a second time, it was found that each man had a black mark on his body, some on the ear, some on the hand, others on the leg, back or head. This was considered sufficient proof that Aliki had indeed supernormal powers, and he was ordered to leave Pukapuka.

Having fitted out his canoe, he sailed for many days to the west. His crew died of exposure, the sennit lashings of the canoe rotted, and the canoe fell to pieces just when he came in sight of land. He swam ashore and learned afterwards that the name of the island was Niutao (Ellice Islands). He feared the people of the island, so he hid by day and stole food by night. One morning before dawn, when he was hurrying back to his hiding place among the *ngaya* bushes by the shore, he met a young girl. She reported the encounter to her father, who watched for the stranger and after several attempts managed to catch him. The two men became friendly and when a tribal war later broke out on Niutao, Aliki rendered such signal service to the group of his protector that they were victorious. Aliki was adopted by the girl's father, married her, and lived on Niutao as a permanent settler. He taught the people of Niutao to wrestle and throw spears. This is why some believe that after the Pukapukans, the men of Niutao are the most skillful wrestlers and spear throwers in the Pacific.

Kieilu, the third grandson of Tuliayanga, was made cautious by the fate of his two brothers. Some time after they had left Pukapuka, Kieilu was challenged to a log-lifting contest by a man of Yamaniga, named Taluawa. Kieilu planned to be defeated in this contest, even though he could have won it easily. Kieilu lifted his log first, but no higher than his chest. Taluawa, careless of his strength, lifted the log with ease and held it above his head. The people saw this and feared his strength. They ordered him to fit his canoe and sail away to the west to find a new home. Taluawa asked his friend Kieilu to accompany him, but Kieilu replied that he was a land bird and had no liking for the sea. So Taluawa repaired his big double canoe and sailed away.

A few days after leaving Pukapuka, he ran into a heavy gale, with strong seas and winds, sent by the god of waterspouts and whirlwinds, Te Alongaoa, in order to destroy him and his fellow adherents of the god Talitonganuku. The two gods had been fighting each other, and Talitonganuku had sent a shark which destroyed Tautuna, a man of Te Alongaoa who had voyaged abroad. But Talitonganuku and his attendant spirits were on the watch, and when Te Alongaoa sent his agents to overwhelm the canoe of